## Message Text

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**ACTION ARA-10** 

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FOR ARA, USOAS AND L - MARK FELDMAN

E.O. 11652: N/A TAGS: OCON, OAS

SUBJECT: SAN JOSE CONFERENCE - RIO TREATY, ARTICLE 3

REF: SAN JOSE 2996 (USDEL 12)

1. WORKING GROUP MET MORNING OF JULY 19 IN TOTALLY UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT TO NARROW DIFFERENCES OVER VARIOUS APPROACHES TO ARTICLE 3. SESSION CONSISTED OF LITTLE MORE THAN RESTATEMENT OF POSITIONS. (USDEL ATTENDED AS AN OBSERVER, BUT DID NOT SPEAK.) AT OUTSET OF GENERAL COMMITTEE MEETING, FACIO INDICATED HIS DESIRE THAT PERUVIAN, COSTA RICAN, CEESI DRAFTS EACH BE BROUGHT TO VOTE, APPARENTLY ACTING ON BELIEF--PROBABLY VALID-- THAT PERUVIAN TEXT WOULD BE SOUNDLY DEFEATED AND THAT COSTA RICAN TEXT WOULD OBTAIN THE 11 VOTES NEEDED FOR ADOPTION. HOWEVER, IN COURSE OF DISCUSSIONS IT BECAME APPARENT THAT VAST MAJORITY OF DELEGATIONS, INCLUDING MANY OF THOSE SUPPORTING COSTA RICAN TEXT, DID NOT WISH MATTER TO COME TO A VOTE UNTIL AFTER FURTHER EFFORTS HAD BEEN MADE TO REACH COMPROMISE. FACIO HAS INFORMALLY ACCEPTED THIS POSITION, AND AGREED TO GET LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TOGETHER WITH PERU AND GUATEMALA (CHIEF SPOKESMAN FOR CEESI

DRAFT) IN ORDER TO SEEK COMPROMISE LANGUAGE. AFTERNOON SESSION OF GENERAL COMMITTEE WILL DEAL WITH OTHER ARTICLES, GIVING THIS GROUP AN OPPORTUNITY TO MEET AS NECESSARY BETWEEN NOW AND MONDAY

- 2. DESPITE PROBABILITY OF MAJORITY SUPPORT FOR COSTA RICAN VERSION, WE ARE NOT ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT ADOPTING CRITICALLY IMPORTANT ARTICLE 3 BY BARE MAJORITY, LEAVING SOME DELEGATES WITH THE IMPRESSION IT HAD BEEN RAILROADED THROUGH. AS USDEL REPEATEDLY INDICATED IN ITS (UNSUCCESSFUL) EFFORTS TO OBTAIN SUPPORT FOR TWO-THIRDS VOTING RULE FOR APPROVAL OF TEXTS AT THIS MEETING, WE FEEL IT IMPORTANT TO HAVE CONSENSUS OR NEAR CONSENSUS ON MAJOR PROVISIONS IF AT ALL POSSIBLE, SO AS TO AVOID ADOPTION OF TEXT THAT CANNOT BE WIDELY RATIFIED. MOREOVER, CONSIDERABLE POLITICAL DAMAGE COULD RESULT IF WE DO NOT MAKE AN EFFORT TO REACH A BROADLY ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENT. COSTA RICA AND OTHERS WHO STRONGLY SUPPORT ELIMINATION OF ANY SUBSTANTIVE DIFFERENCE IN TREATMENT BETWEEN INTRA AND EXTRACONTINENTAL ATTACKS SHARE THIS VIEW.
- 3. ALTHOUGH WE DO NOT KNOW HOW FAR COSTA RICANS ARE WILLING TO GO, MOST OBVIOUS COMPROMISE WOULD BE TO BEGIN WITH CEESI LANGUAGE, WITH TREATMENT OF INTRA-CONTINENTAL AND EXTRA-CONTINENTAL ATTACKS, RESPECTIVELY, IN SEPARATE SUB-PARAGRAPHS BUT RETAINING SAME OBLIGATION IN BOTH CASES. THUS, SUBPARAGRAPH 3 OF ARTICLE 3 MIGHT BE MODIFIED TO READ AS FOLLOWS:

"IN THE EVENT OF ARMED ATTACK OF EXTRACONTINENTAL ORIGIN AGAINST ONE OR MORE CONTRACTING PARTIES, AND UNTIL A DECISION IS TAKEN BY THE ORGAN OF CONSULTATION, EACH CONTRACTING PARTY MAY DETERMINE, AT THE REQUEST OF THE PARTY OR PARTIES ATTACKED AND ACCORDING TO THE CIRCUMSTANCES, THE IMMEDIATE MEASURES IT MAY TAKE IN THE EXERCISE OF ITS RIGHT OF INDIVIDUAL OR COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 51 OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, AND OF THE OBLIGATION CONTAINED IN PARAGRAPH 1 OF THIS ARTICLE."

4. COMMENT. WHILE WE WOULD IDEALLY PREFER ORIGINAL TEXT OF LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ARTICLE 3 OR COSTA RICAN DRAFT, WE BELIEVE MODIFICATION ALONG THESE LINES MEETS OUR ESSENTIAL OBJECTIVES AS SET OUT IN CIRCULAR 175 MEMORANDUM AND ARE PREPARED TO ACCEPT IT UNLESS OTHERWISE ADVISED BY DEPARTMENT. (SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO ARTICLE 51 IN PARAGRAPH DEALING WITH EXTRACONTINENTAL ATTACK (BUT NOT IN PARAGRAPH ON INTRA-CONTINENTAL ATTACK) IS NOT IN OUR VIEW A PROBLEM AND WE HAVE ALREADY ACCEPTED IT IN CEESI.)

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